

## Message Text

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17

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

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USIA-06 DHA-02 SAM-01 /077 W  
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R 111502Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2248

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY DARES SALAAM

AMCONSUL DURBAN

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY MASERU

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

CINCLANT FOR POLAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L SET 2 OF 2 PRETORIA 2587

5. NNC WEAKNESS: DESPITE ATTEMPTS AT COALITION, SUSPICION AMONG BLACK MILITANTS IS RIFE. SWANU'S VEII EXPRESSED DISGUST WITH SWAPO'S INDECISIVE LOCAL LEADERSHIP AND ASSERTED THAT BECAUSE IT MUST RECEIVE ITS ORDERS FROM OUT-OF-TOUCH EXILES, IT CANNOT ACT EFFECTIVELY WITHIN NAMIBIA. ON OTHER HAND, REV. J. DE VRIES, HEAD OF NAMIBIAN LUTHERAN CHURCH WHO SUPPORTS NNC, EXPRESSED DOUBT AND SUSPICION ABOUT VEII'S MOTIVES. DIVISIONS LARGELY PROMOTED BY COMPETING PERSONAL AMBITIONS AND BY DIFFERENCES ON TACTICS. VEII, FOR INSTANCE, BELIEVES CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS MUST  
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BE STOPPED BY DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN IF NECESSARY; SWAPO

BELIEVES TALKS CANNOT BE STOPPED AT THIS POINT BUT PLANS ON ISSUING ITS OWN PROPOSED CONSTITUTION SHORTLY AFTER CONFERENCE BEGINS IN EFFORT TO PRESENT ALTERNATIVE TO WORLD OPINION. INDICATIONS IN VEII'S CONVERSATION THAT HE ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT OVAMBO/SWAPO DOMINATION PROBABLY ALSO CONTRIBUTING FACTOR TO INTRA-NNC RIVALRIES.

6. KAPUUO'S MOTIVES: THESE DIVISIONS MINIMAL COMPARED TO MILITANTS DENIGRATION OF HERERO CHIEF KAPUUO WHOSE AGREEMENT TO ATTEND TALKS HAS REMOVED GREATEST SINGLE STUMBLING BLOCK TO THEIR INITIATION. KAPUUO'S MOTIVES NOT CLEAR. HE IS FRANK IN ADMITTING THAT NOW THAT WHITE AUTHORITIES APPARENTLY PREPARED TO RECOGNIZE HIS CLAIM TO LEADERSHIP OF HERERO PEOPLES (WHICH SAG HAS REFUSED TO DO SINCE 1970), HE IS PREPARED TO SIT AT CONFERENCE TABLE. (MILITANT BLACKS CLAIM THAT KAPUUO HAS BEEN BRIBED WITH SUBSTANTIAL SUMS OF MONEY AND FARM LAND). KAPUUO UNWILLING TO EXPLAIN HIS VISION OF A FUTURE NAMIBIA, BUT WAS EMOTIONALLY ELOQUENT ON TWO FAVORITE TOPICS-- OVAMBO DOMINATION AND LOST HERERO LANDS. IT IS PROBABLE THAT, IF KAPUUO'S MOTIVES ARE NOT PURELY MERCENARY, HIS DESIRE IS TO CREATE AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA IN WHICH THE FIRST CAN BE AVOIDED AND THE SECOND RESTITUTED.

7. TALK POSITIONS UNCLEAR: KAPUUO NOT ALONE IN REFUSING TO DIVULGE HIS BARGAINING POSITION FOR TALKS OR PREDICTING WHAT ROUTE THEY WILL TAKE. MUDGE CONTINUES TO STATE THAT CONFERENCE WILL DEVELOP OWN DYNAMIC WHICH WILL PRODUCE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONSHIP. HE HOPES THAT TALKS WILL BE "SCHOOL FOR ALL OF US" WHERE TOPICS SUCH AS CONSTITUTIONAL LAW, ECONOMICS, ETC. CAN BE DISCUSSED FOR AS LONG AS TWO YEARS, THOUGH HE ACKNOWLEDGES THAT INTERNATIONAL PRES-SURES MAY FORCE SHORTER TIMEFRAME. MUDGE IS , HOWEVER, ADAMANT THAT ANY RESOLUTION ADOPTED MUST BE PRODUCT OF CONSENSUS. (THUS, HIS CONFIDENCE THAT WHITES CAN VETO UNITARY, MAJORITY RULE STATE.) DESPITE MILITANT BLACK MISTRUST OF WHITES (SOME ARGUE THAT WHITES AND "BLACK PUPPETS" WILL URGE CONTINUATION OF STATUS QUO) CONVERSA-TIONS WITH MUDGE, MARAIS AND OTHER WHITES LEAVE IMPRESSION THAT SAG DESIRES TO CREATE INDEPENDENT SWA. THOUGH UNSTATED, CONFIDENTIAL

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WHITE LEADERSHIP APPARENTLY STILL BELIEVES THAT BEST CONSTITU-TIONAL SOLUTION IS LOOSE CONFEDERATION IN WHICH WHITE AREA WILL CONTINUE TO HARBOR MOST WEALTH AND SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL POWER AND IN WHICH STRONG ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL TIES WITH SOUTH ARICA ARE MAINTAINED.

8. POLITICAL FREEDOM RESTRICTED: INDEPENDENT OBSERVERS IN WINDHOEK SUPPORT BLACK MILITANT CLAIMS THAT POLITICAL

FREEDOM FOR BLACKS IN NAMIBIA IS SEVERELY RESTRICTED. THEY ASSERT THAT IN ADDITION TO INTIMIDATION AND VICTIMIZATION (AS ALLEGEDLY HAPPENED IN OVAMBO ELECTION) THE VERY NATURE OF SOUTH WEST LAWS PROHIBITS BLACKS FROM FULLY ENGAGING IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY. MEMBERS OF ONE ETHNIC GROUP ARE PROHIBITED, FOR INSTANCE, FROM PARTICIPATING IN ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNS OF OTHER GROUPS; POLITICAL MEETINGS IN HOMELANDS CAN BE EASILY THWARTED BY LOCAL CHIEFS WHO HAVE AUTHORITY TO DENY PERMISSION, AND MOVEMENT OF POLITICIANS FROM URBAN CENTERS TO THEIR OWN ETHNIC HOMELANDS CAN BE PREVENTED BY DENIAL OF PERMIT TO CROSS INTERVENING WHITE TERRITORY. PROCLAMATION R17 IN OVAMBOLAND AND RECENTLY ENACTED WINDHOEK CITY COUNCIL REGULATION PROHIBITING MEMBERS OF ALL GROUPS FROM HOLDING POLITICAL MEETINGS OUTSIDE OF THEIR RESIDENTIAL AREAS (THUS PREVENTING BLACKS FROM DEMONSTRATING IN THE CITY CENTER) MAKE CLEAR THAT REPEATED STATEMENTS BY PRIME MINISTER VORSTER ABOUT RIGHT OF ALL IN ANMIBIA TO PARTICIPATE FREELY IN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE LAW ARE MISLEADING. LAWS THEMSELVES ARE SO RESTRICTIVE AS TO MAKE POLITICAL ACTIVITY DIFFICULT AND TO ENCOURAGE INTIMIDATION.

9. "TRUE LEADER" QUESTION: SAG AND NON-MILITANT BLACKS CLAIM THAT THOSE ATTENDING TALKS ARE "TRUE LEADERS" OF NAMIBIAN PEOPLES. OTHER CHARGE THAT TALKS SHOULD NOT BE HELD ALONG ETHNIC LINES AND THAT, IN ANY EVENT, THOSE BLACKS ATTENDING ARE "STOOGES", NEVER ELECTED SPECIFICALLY BY THEIR PEOPLE AS TALK REPRESENTATIVES. DIFFICULT TO JUDGE WHO WOULD INDEED BE LEADERS OF NAMIBIAN BLACKS IF ALL POLITICAL RESTRAINTS REMOVED. INDEPENDENT OBSERVERS ARGUE THAT, WITH THE PROBABLE EXCEPTION OF OVAMBOS, MAJORITY OF BLACK NAMIBIANS WOULD PROBABLY SELECT SAME LEADERS THAT THEY NOW HAVE. IT IS INDEED IRONICAL THAT, IF

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THIS IS TRUE, SUPPORTERS OF ONE MAN, ONE VOTE WOULD, AT LEAST INITIALLY NOT WIN ELECTIONS IN WHICH OVERWHELMINGLY CONSERVATIVE AND RURAL BLACK PASTORALISTS AND AGRICULTURALISTS WOULD CLOSELY FOLLOW TRADITION. THIS SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED TO MEAN THAT STRENGTH OF THE BLACK MILITANT ORGANIZATIONS IS SLIGHT. TO CONTRARY, IT APPEARS THAT VAST MAJORITY OF ARTICULATE AND EDUCATED BLACKS (WHICH, OF COURSE, ARE A MINORITY) AS WELL AS MOST URBAN BLACKS SUPPORT SWANU, SWAPO, BASTER VOLKSPARTY AND OTHER OF MILITANT GROUPS WHICH ARE MOST IMPORTANT ELEMENTS IN HEATED BLACK NAMIBIAN POLITICAL SCENE WHICH HAS WITNESSED DEVELOPMENT OF APPROXIMATELY 30 (MOSTLY MINISCULE) POLITICAL PARTIES IN RECENT YEARS.

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## Message Attributes

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